PACIFIST MAINTAINS TAX

$H(A(\cdot)H)$

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 47

London: May 8, 1937 2d.

Start Now to Build for Peace

WAR CAN BE ABOLISHED -NOT LIMITED

How to Tackle the Problem

MAN may say what he likes about the Guernica horror, he may pile adjective on adjective and sentence on sentence, and when he has filled a column and a half he will have said nothing bad enough for this awful massacre of innocent noncombatants. But it could all have been expressed in four words:

THIS IS MODERN WAR'

"What we want to do is not to try to limit the horrors of war but to remove its causes. And that can only be done by an international conference which will honestly weigh all national grievances and needs."

In these words Canon Peter Green (in two letters published in the Manchester Guardian within the last few days) has expressed truths for which every pacifist ought to secure the widest possible prominence.

This need to remove the causes of war was stressed by Mr. Francis B. Sayre, U.S. Secretary of State, in a recent address to American Quakers at Philadelphia, when he said:

"Men will fight before they starve. How to make secure each nation's reasonable access to foreign markets, therefore, constitutes under present-day conditions the very heart of the problem of peace."

An indication of the way to tackle the problem was also given by Mr. Sayre when he added that "access to foreign markets can be made secure only in a world organized on the basis of law." Unhappily, he said, that time had not come yet, but

we could build for peace by reducing excessive trade barriers.

ECONOMIST'S COMMENTS

Cautious optimism was the keynote of the conversation I had with Mr. Graham Hutton, one of our younger and most energetic economists, concerning the possibility of a general easing of trade barriers between nations (writes a PEACE NEWS reporter).

Recent utterances from Germany, such as Hitler's conversation with Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Schacht's speeches, had shown, he said, that Germany wanted to come to some kind of working arrangement with the rest of the programme.

With regard to the investigations that were being carried out by M. an Zeeland, Mr. Hutton declared "I now van Zeeland personally and I know that these investigations lie very

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POLITICAL PARTY

will contest the first favourable by-elec-lion, and invites interested friends to

Rev. H. Ingli James, B.A., B.D., B.Litt. 11 Morningside, Coventry

YOU

-HAVE YOU-

Told Your M.P.

Want that

WORLD CONFERENCE

Summer Camp at Swanwick

"This might be the making of our movement," says "Dick" Sheppard of the Summer camp being organized by the Peace Pledge Union.

THERE will be accommodation for 500 people under canvas at The Hayes, Swanwick, Derbyshire, from July 30 to August 6. The camp will give an opportunity for comradeship which is regarded as extremely important and valuable.

It is hoped that all the sponsors of the Union will be there, and in this way both they and the members generally will come into close contact with each other.

The general programme for each day will probably consist of a talk in the morning, followed by group discussions, the findings of which will be reported to a general conference in the evening, the afternoon being left free for all the enjoyments of camp life. In addition to these, which will include swimming and sports, excursions can be organized to places of interest and beauty round about.

The conditions in camp will be extremely comfortable. There will not even be any orderly duties except waiting at meals!

As for the accommodation, there will be five marquees sleeping 24 each, eighteen smaller ones to accommodate nearly 300 more campers, and fifty bell tents for married couples. In each case there will be tarpaulin flooring on which there will be low bedsteads standing nine inches from the ground and with straw palliasses.

The total cost will be 35s. for the week, but if any wish to avail themselves of opportunities which will be available for sleeping in houses in the vicinity there will be a further charge of 2s. 6d. or 3s.

This opportunity should not be missed. Please make application at once to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

It was possible, however, that first steps would not be to call a conference.

"Nobody has yet got down to the hard facts," he went on, "It must first be known how far the democratic countries are determined to protect their agricultural industry—a mainly agricultural country will want to protect its industry—and a mainly industrialized country to protect its agriculture.'

The great point from the econo-

depression but today, when there was a chance of revising them, rather than being in the trough of a depression, we were much nearer the peak of a Therefore there was every economic argument for doing everything in our power to increase our imports from the cheap producing countries irrespective of whether they were in the Empire or not, and to increase our exports to those countries to pay for the imports.

mist's point of view was that when Mr. Hutton went on. That could be suspicion."

REFUSAL

WALTER JAMES CLAYFIELD of 205 Booth Road, Hendon, N.W.9. the pacifist who, as reported in PEACE NEWS for April 10, refuses to pay the portion of his income tax which is used for war purposes, is continuing to make a stand for his principles.

"LAW OF GOD"

Undaunted by his five days' imprisonment last month, he appeared in Court again on Tuesday, this time at Clerkenwell, on a summons for payment of £1 15s. 11d. income tax.

When asked his reason for not paying, Clayfield again stated that he was a conscientious objector and would not pay as a large portion of the tax was for war purposes.

The clerk: Do you agree the tax is demanded according to the law?

Clayfield: According to the law of England but not according to the law of God.

An order for payment forthwith was issued.

interpreted hopefully, but if he meant that we were only to increase imperial trade and leave it to everybody else to increase international trade, then he was hopelessly short sighted and wrong.

If, after the Imperial Conference, we found ourselves still bound down to the narrow, closed method of trade it would be a worse tragedy for the world than the Ottawa Agreements in 1932.

OFFICIAL VIEW

As it is apparently the official view that "the attempt to work out an international programme for freer trade ... will necessarily have to wait until after the Imperial Conference in London," it is extremely important that the results of this conference should not be such as to preclude the success of a subsequent world conference.

It is believed that during Mr. Eden's world without, however, wanting to curtail her rearmament years."

the Ottawa agreements were made in 1932 we were in the trough of the land spoke to him "in cautious but 1932 we were in the trough of the land spoke to him "in cautious but not unhopeful terms of the economic mission he has undertaken:" but pacifists should do their utmost to encourage our own Government to take the initiative in preparing a world conference rather than to appeal tothe rulers of other countries for whom it may be difficult to do so.

It must, however, be borne in mind that as The Times said last week, "no matter what assurances are given, peace will remain in danger so Mr. Chamberlain had said it was long as the nations persist in reabsolutely necessary to increase trade, garding one another with fear and

Library, NEWhall and t public nament;

WEST-

ayal on

oblems"; Friends NDON, ury on ce Com-

ds.

Trinity Road, e on the ian way ily sure liberty of peace nd the Arting-Magda

EACE

tableaux ocession day inshowing ie, then dummy nt was crowds e South-

affiliated through the sea d by a an from its were

ocession r peace Dr. Eltz

resolute to conservice, declares t those ral conr or the

r, M.P., Wilson, roposed of the ided to

Act. the imment to t a gross of the

of Regent and pub-ad, New them by 5 Fairfax

AN emergency car service is being provided during the London bus strike by the Empire movement of British Industries House. Officials of the organization explain that this has been possible because a similar service has been in course of preparation for air raids.

This astonishing fact, brought to light by the dispute between busmen and London Transport is one indication of the effect of organizing the nation under the cloak of "defence."

While Londoners are carrying on without their buses for the time being Mr. Ernest Bevin has been outlining the case on behalf of the men and producing evidence to show the effect of speeding-up on the health of bus-

The Board's case seemed likely to be that, whatever the justice of the men's claim, under present conditions it is financially impossible to meet it. In this event it remains to be seen whether an attempt will be made to increase fares or whether public opinion will demand a revision of the obligations with regard to interest payment laid upon the Board by Par-

Meanwhile non-violent methods to attain more just conditions are being used by provin-

(Continued on page 12, column 3)

Don't be discouraged, says Lord Ponsonby THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK GOES UNNOTICED

OO often despondency is They are apt to think that the their opinion, to do anything to only ones who wield influence behelp a cause about which they cause in some degree they can feel deeply.

Off to U.S.A.

DR. H. R. L. SHEPPARD, who has been invited at short notice to talk to Americans on the subject of peace, is leaving for New York by

the Europa today (Saturday), and will be away until end o f the month.

Thirteen hundred people gathered hear



his latest public meeting (at Bournemouth on Sunday) and a further 400 were accommodated at an overflow

shown by humble people more spectacular figures conthat they are unable, in cerned with the cause must be the command public attention.

> But this is a great mistake. Just as trade prosperity is not due to the thousands spent by the rich but to the shillings spent by the poor, so in the propagation of principles and ideas while leaders have their place, it is the individual and often unseen work and efforts of the rank and file which count most in spreading the measure of the influence it may have message and gradually consolidating a large body of opinion.

Such people can expect no reward, no notice, no appearance of their names in headlines, in fact no recognition.

far from being in vain, their work, refusal to participate in war and the consequences of which they may national policy of disarmament not ever be able to trace, is of supreme importance.

AS George Eliot wrote, "the growing good of the world is partly dependent on un- and consequently not putting our case historic acts; and that things are as effectively as I should have liked. not so ill with you and me as they might have been is half owing to Union, made an admirable reply; the number who lived faithfully a the best case for rearmament for hidden life, and rest in unvisited defence I have heard. tombs."

To put it in another way, the captain of the ship is of course a key man. But his job could not be accomplished without his crew, down to the youngest stoker, none of whom has any hope of seeing his name in an honours list.

So in our work the little strands of influence coming from unknown individuals pressing in various inconspicuous ways the principles and the spirit of our beliefs with regard to force and violence in a world which appears to be more generally enamoured of force and violence than any previous generation ever has been, far from being negligible are weaving themselves into a powerful rope which opinion in our favour.

The decision as to who shall govern this country is made by no man, however eminent, nor by any committee presented to Charles II in 1660: or cabinet, but by the cumulative vote of millions of individuals.

I HAVE been reminded of all this by the death quite recently at the age of 81 of a devoted worker for peace, Mrs. Colenso.

She was the widow of Francis Colenso, son of Bishop Colenso, of Natal, the triend of the Zulus, around whose name ecclesiastical controversy raged in the sixties of last century.

I have been acquainted with Mrs. Colenso for several years and have been able to note the indefatigable zeal with which in season and out of season she carried on propaganda for peace.

Recently she was greatly encour-

Reflections and Comments

aged by the formation of the P.P.U. By letters and talks she kept the subject of peace alive among her acquaintances and in the last year or so she distributed many P.P.U. cards and copies of PEACE NEWS.

The very day before she died, she asked about George Lansbury's visit to Hitler and smiled with pleasure when she was given a hopeful report. In such sincere and persistent service because it is hidden there can be no

THE uncompromising pacifist motion brought before the Cambridge Union Society Yet they may rest assured that, so last week included both individual by example.

The level of the speeches was high. They were thoughtful, serious, and well reasoned on both sides. When it came to my turn I was annoyed at being off colour (for physical reasons) My opponent, Mr. Boyd Carpenter.

But of course he accepted force as a cure and corrective as well as a safeguarding menace. However, so deeply were the undergraduate members of the union conscious of the dangers of competitive armaments as a means of plunging the world into a catastrophe which all wish to avoid that our motion was carried by 93 votes to 90, much to my surprise but greatly to my satisfaction.

IN connexion with pledges, motions, and resolutions, I found on the wall of one of the oldest Quaker meeting houses in the country the following peace may draw a strong weight of public testimony from "a Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God called Quakers

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world.

"The spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil, and again to move unto and we certainly know and testify to the world that the spirit of Christ. which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ nor for the kingdom of this world."

Now Ready!

PEACE YEAR BOOK 1937

Indispensable to all workers for peace

Full information on

The International Situation The Armaments Race The League of Nations Civil War in Spain The Trade in Arms Science and Peace The Theatre, Films and Peace The Peace Movement at home and abroad

Statistics on the armaments expenditure of the nations naval and military effectives, "Cost of War and Peace," etc. Bibliographies of books and pamphlets, official publications, plays, etc.

CARTOONS

Over 400 pages!

2s. net (postage 5d.)

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1

or from your booksellers

Do

May 8,

PAC AG

T is fight insists which are different phick in fism?" in Zealand "Th

whole come that th torn u to. . . "Pacifi. against l

greed at extreme i nation re economic rights," lF G

thinker a also a pr trial tech organizat Unfort

would fo discredite But w lreaty we this man by his pra could no

his count

and the

"the C to wit Germa to dist to resi to take the Go machin

"Thi

peace, for al

rest w world, their of to take of sixt He wa world m possible ! ditions treaty.

Anti-

of Antim men wil June 29 be obtai MacPher Edinburg

nby K

ments

ne P.P.U. kept the long her last year y P.P.U. NEWS. lied, she ry's visit pleasure il report. t service n be no

1ay have

ng pacight be-Society lividual var and nament

vas high. ous, and When noyed at reasons) our case ve liked. rpenter. Oxford e reply;

ient for force as ell as a ever, so te memof the nents as d into a o avoid 1 by 93 orise but

oledges, lutions, e of the uses in 3 peace laration mocent **Duakers** 660:" ard wars ith out-

end, or ver; this e world. hich we le, so as a thing unto it; d testify f Christ. 1th, will ind war outward kingdom dom of

Does Economic Interest Lead to War?

AGAINST SYSTEM OF GREED

"T is no use saying I won't fight, if at the same time one insists on economic policies which are in themselves war, only of a different sort." So says Bernard El-phick in an article on "What is Pacifism?" in The Waikato Times, a New Zealand paper.

"The world today is at war the whole time, economic war, only from time to time tempers become so bad, fears so intense, that the rules of the "game" are torn up, and violence is resorted

"Pacifists are in spiritual revolt against this system which practises greed and selfishness to such an extreme that nation sets out to destroy nation rather than yield an inch of economic advantage or its pretended

IF GERMANY HAD DONE THIS-

Peace Might Have Been Won

From a Correspondent

In Germany in 1918 was a man named Walther Rathenau. He was a thinker and a man of vision. He was also a practical man, expert in industrial technique and in commercial organization.

Unfortunately he saw too clearly for his countrymen the folly of the War and the nature of the peace which would follow it and by 1918 he was a discredited citizen, a despised Jew.

But when the terms of the peace treaty were made known in Germany, this man whose vision was matched by his practical ability said that if they could not be altered for the better,

"the German representatives ought to withdraw from Versailles, the German National Assembly ought to dissolve, the President of the Reich and the ministers ought to resign and the governments that have formed a united front against us should be invited without delay to take over the sovereign rights of the German Reich and the whole machinery of government.

"Thus the responsibility for the peace, for the administration and for all German activities would rest with the enemy. Before the world, before history and before their own people, they would have to take on their shoulders the care of sixty millions of human beings."

He was sure that in this way the orld must see that it was utterly impossible for Germany to fulfil the conditions inflicted upon her by the

Anti-militarist Clergy

The fourth International Congress of Antimilitarist Ministers and Clergymen will be held at Edinburgh on June 29 to July 1. Full particulars can be obtained from the Rev. Hector MacPherson, 7 Wardie Crescent, Edinburgh..

PACIFISTS' REVOLT | PROFIT REMOVAL STARTS AT HOME

"It Can be Done"

From Our Special Correspondent

A SPANIARD, a dubious pacifist, to whom I repeated that the seven great Powers mentioned in PEACE NEWS are spending £5,000 a minute on armaments,

"I have been told that, before the Great War, eight out of ten inhabitants of the belligerent countries were directly or indirectly interested in the production of war material or military stores, and therefore openly or secretly desired war. How can you expect to eliminate war if that is true?"

I hastened to assure him it was not. But his question gave rise to much uneasy thought.

How many of us are none too searching in our scrutiny of the source from which our income is derived? How many of us are only too ready to smother a rebellious conscience with an insincere "reductio ad absurdum"? But shall we ever knock the profit out of war until at all events the bulk of us insist that our means of subsistence are guiltless of blood? It can be done. I know of at least one striking example.

The manager of a firm long famous for the excellence of its for democracy in Spain.

CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA. lethal blades, who is an ardent pacifist, has for years past been

discouraging that side of the industry and devoting the superb steel produced by his foundries to the manufacture of harmless domestic utensils. Mammon plays a more important

role in human intercourse than even the wisest of us knows. This theme forms the principal argument in a bitterly Anglophobe article in a Madrid paper, Politica, of April 19.

The writer, Ludwig Lore, whose name seems to imply a German origin, accuses England of treachery in the following lines:

"It is not difficult to understand why London should prefer Franco to such a government as the present. Hundreds of millions of pounds, sunk in Spanish loans of all kinds, would feel safer under a 'nationalist' regime than in a country whose government has left wing tendencies."

POLITICAL COLOURS

Let me hasten to correct a wrong impression readers may have received. The armed head shown on page I of your April 10 issue does not represent the different "nationalities" but the political parties which are struggling

OFFICIAL PEACE **POSTER**



From a Texas Correspondent

HIS picture shows a sign displayed for several years by the United States Government in front of the post office at Houston, Texas, U.S.A. It was old and weathered when my brother took the snap, and the lettering hardly legible.

The Government allows army and navy posters to be displayed on post office property (but no private advertisers) and this peace sign struck a refreshing note. It is now gone and I have been unable to find out when or why it was removed.

BRITISH DOMINATION IN MALTA

From Our Malta Correspondent Britain's treatment of Malta during the last hundred and forty years of domination exemplifies the defects of its colonizing methods.

In taking control of the islands the British made Malta a military and naval stronghold, but cared less for its internal civil position as the following examples will show.

The civilian administration of the island is directed by a military Governor who, although an expert in military matters, may not necessarily have experience of civilian administration. Besides, Governors are do. changed every four years thus giving them very little time in which to learn the internal position.

Maltese children, on the whole, were never encouraged to attend the English schools, and English clubs were not attended by Maltese. When the Italians were spreading their propaganda many of the Maltese children were permitted by the Italian authorities to attend Italian schools on the island.

Many, even, were encouraged to accompany Italian children on their summer trips over the Italian continent organized by the fascist regime.

These are but a few points. A deep study of the history of British domination can show many defects.

P.P.U. Ramble, May 12 from Chingford to High Beech and Theydon Bois

Ramblers should meet at Liverpool Street, corner of Old Broad Street, and should communicate with R. H. Pownall, 84 Albert Road, Dalston. E. 8, to assist in making necessary arrangements for tea.

Please also state whether joining party at Liverpool Street or Chingford.

Declare Peace—Not War

A Plea for the Only Way

THE twentieth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War was marked by the Christian Science Monitor by an interesting editorial entitled "The Peace to End War."

It made use of an attempt "to recapture the feeling of April 6, 1917" to list some of the things war didn't

But not content with pointing out the futility of war, it made an excellent plea that nations should declare peace "with the determination they must summon when they declare war."

The most striking part of this plea save for the word "military") was the following parallel of President Woodrow Wilson's announcement of America's entry into the war:-

"I do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of peace exists . . . and I do specifically direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of peace; and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens that they, in loyal devotion to their country . . . uphold the laws of the land and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecuting the peace to a successful issue.

A Calendar of **Conferences**

Many will be interested in a calendar of coming conferences issued by the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations.

The International Federation of Business and Professional Women will meet in Stockholm on June 15 to 18 and those who wish to attend should communicate with their National President.

The Institute of Intellectual Cooperation will hold a series of meetings in Paris between June 28 and July 28 and information can be obtained about these from either the Institute or the League of Nations.

A conference arranged by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will take place at Bratislava on June 28 to July 3, The address to which inquiries should be addressed is International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 4 Avenue de France, Geneva.

The "Work of Women for Human Progress" is the subject to be discussed at a conference in Paris on June 21 to 26, particulars of which are obtainable from Mlle. Butillard, 25 Rue de Valois, Paris.

Please mention PEACE NEWS when answering advertisements

May 8.

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

P.P.U. Page

QUESTIONS about division of labour are ticklish ones for every sort and condition of life that aims at the democratic ideal. If you doubt this you might well reflect on Middleton Murry's Commentary in this issue. Questions of this kind came naturally into the very profitable and enjoyable discussion which took place at a meeting of Sponsors and Executive members of the P.P.U. with some of the seasoned leaders of the No More War Movement held last Saturday at Stationer's Hall, London. Stated baldly, the issue resolves itself into the question whether Headquarters ought to frame policy, issue instructions, regularize subscriptions and coordinate all activity, or whether both members and groups of the P.P.U. should not retain their independence, freedom of action and initiative without waiting for any uniform programme or policy.

Autocracy on the one hand, disorder and loss of the unity which is strength on the other. How to keep freedom without falling into anarchy: how to coordinate without putting the movement into a legal straight-jacket. That is the very delicate problem with which we are faced and shall continue to be faced so long as the P.P.U. retains its vitality. For, make no mistake about it, the problem is not one which can be solved ad hoc. The proof of this pudding is only to be found in the eating, and the spiritual quality and hence the manners and customs of the eaters will be the main factor in determining the measure of success which the new form of democracy the P.P.U. labours to bring to life, attains.

Transpose the question of the proper division of labour to the humble one of the management of your own house. When I do a job of housework and my wife takes on the cooking, it always seems to me that I am doing everything while the gas-stove does the rest. (Gas Companies, please apply for advert. rates). The job in hand, if it is all-absorbing, leaves one wondering whether anybody else is fully employed. Small wonder then that a weary Group Leader, toiling on the outskirts of the Peace Empire, up-hill all the way, should wonder what on earth those people in London are amusing themselves with.

Well, I would assure all such that the impermanent staff at H.Q. is finding a day of twelve hours all too short for its P.P.U. duties. We simply cannot get through the urgent demands which the whole situation makes upon our time and energy. Moreover, we don't expect to. The aim will always lie beyond our actual grasp, or, in Browning's words, "What's a heaven for?" But we fully realize that we are servants and not in the smallest degree masters of this great movement. We are cooperators and not officials and, to the best of our ability, we are at the service of the last and most ignorant person who sincerely puts his penniless name to a pledge-card.

Therefore without impatience, withcriticism, let us learn this difficult like bay-trees all over the country.

*

The Notice Board

See also Group Notes

Volunteers who can carry poster boards in parades around London main line stations, May 13-15, please get in touch with P.P.U. Headquarters.

Pacifists in colleges of London University, please communicate with Miss M. G. Clark or Mr. Malloni, Goldsmith's College, S.E.14.

CORONATION ODE PROTEST

An ode, written by Arthur C. Benson and set to music by Elgar, in which Britain is asked to "see that thy sons be strong to arise and go if ever the war trump peal," has led the Watford group of the P.P.U. to protest to the local coronation celebrations committee.

The poem is to be sung at the Watford coronation celebrations, and strong objection to the verses was voiced at a recent meeting of the group.

Publicity has been given to the protest in the local press.

Stressing the importance of the individual in the Peace Pledge Union, Miss Mary Gamble said last week at the most successful meeting ever held by the Derby group of the P.P.U., that the whole thing stood or fell by the loyalty and energy of each indi-

The Rev. Charles-Edwards said that if Christian pacifism were not practised, then one might just as well get rid of ministers and shut down the churches.

NO SUPPORTER FOR REARMAMENT

WIT was found impossible to obtain a suitable outsider to state the case for rearmament." So writes (in The Friend) a member of a newly formed peace group at Bootham, the Quaker school in Yorkshire, who are studying peace and international affairs.

Members of the group, however, collected material, the general desire being to hear the case for rearmament chiefly to prepare themselves for the arguments they were most likely to come up against.

The question of personal pacifism had been uppermost in their minds. and the implications of the Peace Pledge had been explored in detail

Two final sessions on "Capitalism and War" revealed deep divisions of opinion and a certain lack of adequate knowledge of the facts.

and delicate job of cooperation. Each or all and all for each member of the P.P.U. feel, by action, his own power of initiative. Help, guidance, coordination of effort-that is what H.Q. exists to give. It has no roost to rule, for it lives by the grace of God and the forbearance of the British Government. We want a movement that has self-supporting life in every member of it. Then if H.Q. disappeared in a night, lo and behold we should merely discover when we out cock-sureness, without hostility, woke in the morning that there were without merely destructive or cynical a thousand headquarters blooming

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

four of us led by "Dick" Sheppard went down to Tonypandy. We wanted to hear from them on the spot how matters stood and to find out if of heart had undermined the natural independence of the Rhondda miner. We found that, far from being weakened, it was stronger in every way. Poverty may have weakened the body but it had not affected the mind. For two hours in the afternoon they asked questions and discussed the implications of pacifism, filling us with a new sense of the dignity of human nature. Besides Dr. Sheppard we had Max Plowman and Wilfred Wellock to answer questions; and to guide the conference George Davies. his friend and staunch advocate. Altogether a good beginning.

After tea in the Maes Yr Haf Settlement, the centre of all the club work in the Rhondda, it was soon time to go to the Central Hall, where the public meeting was to begin at 7 o'clock. I arrived at 6.30 with literature and found the hall already three parts full. The seating capacity is 1,500 and it was filled to overflow ing by the time the meeting began. We led off with singing and 1,500 Welsh people singing are worth hear ing! Wilfred Wellock gave a complete analysis of the world situation and showed that the only way out was that of constructive pacifism. "Dick" Sheppard, who was received with tremendous applause, followed with an appeal for the individual to accept responsibility, to join in the work of the P.P.U., and to dedicate the whole of his energies, mind and body, to this one end. Speeches were followed for half an hour by questions and the result will be the strengthening of the whole movement.

From Wales I come to Bristol. Here we have a group which is already spreading out in all directions. The latest news from them is that they are trying to get PEACE NEWS into the libraries and are hopeful of success. Another group which has succeeded in this connexion is that of Bingley, Yorkshire. Here the library committee turned down the offer of a free copy of PEACE NEWS each week but on the matter being raised in the Council, this decision was over-ruled and the offer has been accepted.

Regular reports come with unfailing certainty from Romford, and the latest tells of a meeting at which Mr. S. A. Cohen, prospective Conservative candidate, tried to defend the Government's rearmament policy and was replied to successfully by Mr. Thomas Southall (chairman of the Hampstead P.P.U.). Over 200 were present, four dozen PEACE NEWS were sold, and more than £2 was collected at the meeting.

A new group just started is the one at Plaistow. It is to meet at the Red Triangle, Y.M.C.A., Greengate Street, Plaistow, on alternate Friday evenings. The secretary is Mr. William Scott, 21 Grant Road, E.13, and anyone living in this neighbourhood should immediately get in touch.

Since George Lansbury went to see Hitler groups have sent resolutions Ardenlee, Burton Road, Lower Midand letters to both President Roose- way, Burton-on-Trent.

Ideas for Action

By DAVID SPRECKLEY

AST week, April 28 to be exact, PROPAGANDA is vitally necessary. It is only by the spoken and written word that pacifism can spread. We have no help from the national press, no funds for large scale adverprolonged unemployment and sickness tising—but we have better publicity and advertisement than that, we have

Any group that gets together with the sole idea of strengthening its own position against the people outside, is shirking half its duty. We must spread and strengthen at the same time. There are potential pacifists everywhere, but they haven't yet thought or heard about us. I disagree with those who say "first we must learn our own case, and then we can go out and persuade others." We shall never reach a point where our case is learnt; we work it out as life goes on. Today, however known to every miner in the Valley as imperfect our knowledge, we can go out and say frankly: "We have no perfect solution for this world, but we are making our stand against war because we know it is wrong and solves nothing. Join with us if you believe this, add your brains to ours, and together we will work it out." That appeal works.

> The suffragettes may have used some unpacifist methods in their campaign, but they had the courage of their convictions, the courage to put their case before the public, and they won. There is an example for us. I have said "Today we must do propaganda work," and I mean today. It is now for sacrifice and active service, if we want to win.

Suggestion 15.

Wherever people meet, there you have concentrated public opinion, and there the P.P.U. must be at work. A small team should go and visit all guilds, clubs, adult schools, unions, societies, and every sort of movement that exists in the locality, with offers of cooperation, literature, lectures, discussion, or debates. This is a bold method of advance, and a very success-

Suggestion 16.

Public meetings. But don't leave it all to the speakers. An active group can make all the difference by thorough advertising, by stewarding, selling literature in the hall, and so on. I do not advise groups to arrange such meetings until they are well under way and are able to offer a definite line of action to prospective members.

Suggestion 17.

The peace shop and peace stall for selling books and pamphlets has been very successful. Groups have taken an empty shop for a fortnight or so, and these can be made to pay for themselves. Or why not a stall in the market place? If any groups are contemplating this, we can supply them with various poster decorations and can put them in touch with groups who have already had a shop or stall.

velt and to Hitler asking that they should do all in their power to convene an international conference to promote peace and good will among nations. The latest group I have heard of which has done this is that at Swadlincote, Burton-on-Trent, the secretary of which is Mr. Henry Dolman, PACI

("Somew

TH

"Noo wa blacksmi door to ing and

of the pe and from called in few shop For lagers

about

the w much no ho The m like brie lit by oil The mo discussio objection failings

the Brit The was mo argumen Quite in the li ber of

and sev handed So en campaig

8, 1937

ĿΥ y necesoken and n spread. national le adver-

publicity

we have her with its own utside, is st spread ne. There nere, but r heard ose who wn case, persuade a point work it however can go have no , but we war bed solves

." That sed some impaign, neir conneir case y won.
I have paganda is now e, if we

believe irs, and

ere you ion, and vork. A visit all unions, ovement h offers res, disa bold success-

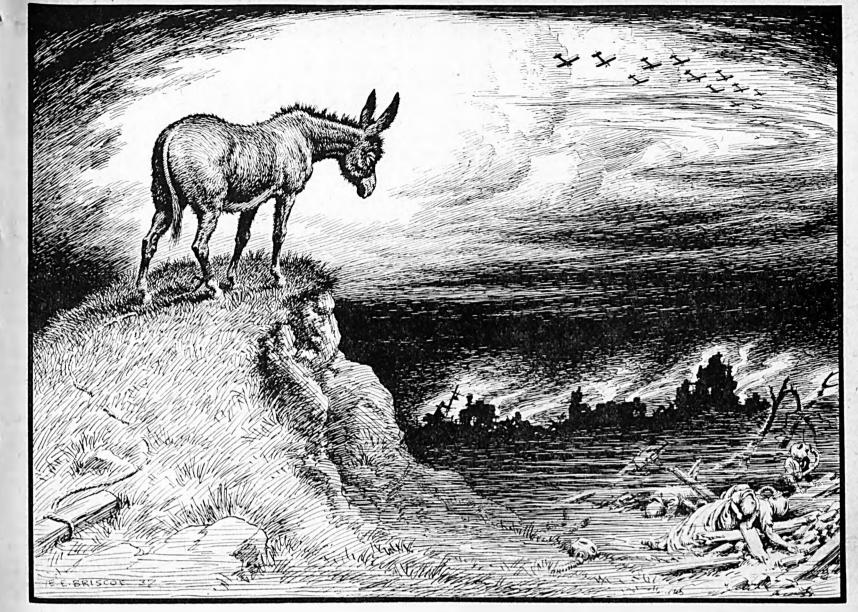
leave it e group varding, d so on. ge such der way ite line bers.

tall for as been aken an so, and themne marontemm with can put o have

it they onvene romote nations. ard of Swadsecreolman,

r Mid-





"O Judgment! Thou art fled to brutish Beasts and Men have lost their reason."

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE

IN THE VILLAGES

From a Correspondent

("Somewhere among the villages in East Yorkshire.")

"NOO! We don't want annuer waar!" Thus spake the village blacksmith as we looked in at his door to invite him to the peace meeting and to leave with him particulars of the peace pledge.

We went from cottage to cottage and from one farmhouse to another, called in at the village school and the few shops.

For the major part the villagers were very apprehensive about war but very ignorant of the way to peace. Hence we met much scepticism—though practically no hostility.

The meeting was set in an old barnlike brick shack called the "Tent," lit by oil lamps and warmed by an old stove. The people listened attentively. The more vocal joined in the ensuing discussion, bringing up time-honoured objections about dictators and their failings and how they would carve up the British Empire if we disarmed.

The majority realized that there was more fear than logic in these arguments.

Quite a deal of interest was shown in the literature we displayed, a number of PEACE NEWS were bought, and several signatures promised or

So ended one day in our ten-day campaign in the villages.

PACIFIST MESSAGE Youth Proves Folly of War A BETTER WAY

From Our Own Correspondent

A SUCCESSFUL international rally just held at the Jevington Youth Hostel has proved once again the futility of war.

Some forty members, including several foreign visitors, were present and all agreed that this interchange of ideas between young people of different nations showed that differences could be settled amicably.

Mr. Hilton (League of Nations Union) commenced the proceedings with a talk on "The Ethics of Leisure," this being followed by a general discussion.

Herr Gabrielsson then spoke on conditions in Germany, and the ensuing discussion ranged over a wide variety of topics,

Hugh Brook spoke on the Christian over the downs to Cuckmere Haven W.1. where, after lunch, Mynheer Laming, from Holland, gave an account of life in that country, and Krishna Rao spoke on conditions in India.

The next rally is being arranged for the week-end of June 19-20, and early booking is advisable.

Air Raid "Precautions"

School Teacher Refuses Cooperation

Special to PEACE NEWS

A LEAD to those teachers who feel that cooperation in air raid "precautions" should be opposed has been provided by Miss B. Walker, head teacher of the village school at Thornaby-on-Tees, Yorkshire, who is a member of the Peace Pledge Union.

"I am not prepared to take part in air raid drill of any kind, or to give instruction of that nature to children in my care," she told PEACE NEWS recently. adding that she was "prepared to suffer if necessary for what I believe in this way.'

Thornaby village school accommodates 300 children.

JOINT ACTION

Many teachers have already forfrom German youth hostels to warded their names to the headthe question of colonies. The quarters of the Peace Pledge Union arrival of "lights out" caused a in response to the invitation published in PEACE NEWS on April 17. Any temporary halt in the discussion, which was resumed at breakfast others who would be prepared to dis-At an open-air meeting on the raid "precautions" in the school downs, held after breakfast, the Rev. from the point of view of opposing any cooperation-should write to the way of life. Later there was a ramble Union at 96 Regent Street, London,

> When the names of such teachers have been collected they will be for-warded to a member of the Union who is prepared to convene a meeting in the near future. It is felt that members of the Assistant Masters' Association would be especially interested in this matter.

BAPTISTS REJECT **PACIFISM**

From a Correspondent

CLEAR expression of every A Christian's undoubted right to renounce all participation in and preparation for war was asked for at the Baptist Union's annual assembly at Manchester last week.

A speaker who said he would have liked such a statement included in a no addition to the resolution could be accepted.

The resolution in question had not been submitted to the delegates or to the assembly before it met in session.

The report on the Baptist attitude to war, submitted to the Assembly by a special committee, was criticized at a meeting of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship last week, when the Rev. H. Ingli Jones, the chairman, said Baptists were divided on the subject.

Editorial Office: 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 8½d. post free Yearly: 10s. 2d.

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union Taking the Constructive Pacifist Position, but providing news.
information and an open forum Serving all who are working for Peace

May 8, 1937

The MODEL MASSACRE

A FORTNIGHT ago there was a conference of local authorities in London upon the Government Air Raid Precautions. Within twenty-four hours, a town situated about half a day's air journey from London was completely destroyed, and most of its inhabitants wiped out, in a single air raid. That moderate and conservative newspaper, The Times, says "the whole town of 7.000 inhabitants, plus 3,000 refugees, was slowly and systematically pounded to pieces."

The question arises: were the people who carried out this scientific and orderly massacre of civilians exceeding their military duty; or were they, in endeavouring to break the morale of their enemies, fulfilling their duty in the most efficient and effective manner possible?

This is a practical question to which the military answer is alone worth hearing.

What the Massacre of Guernica demonstrates is that while there are bounds to the frightfulness which the average man considers tolerable even in war, modern war, by the logic of its own nature, is compelled to disregard such bounds, and must be conducted not according to standards of human sentiment, or international law of any kind, but according to the utmost frightfulness which scientific destructive machinery can accomplish. What now happens is that once a man has committed himself to the expedient of war he is, by the act of self-committal, committed to the most inhuman frightfulness the weapons of scientific devastation can produce. He is delivered over to the total sum of inhumanity of which the machine is capable. And when that machine is a modern aeroplane loaded with high-explosive, incendiary and poison bombs, the imagination of the ordinary human being fails and retires before it can envisage the work of massacre which such a machine can easily accomplish when it is flown by a courageous youth, probably under the age of twenty-one, who knows his job.

Further, in the next war, for which we are will our military necessity differ from the neces-Massacre? Modern war involves the whole of quate measures of defence" in the next war. the civil population: we discovered that more than twenty years ago. For this reason, modern war is not war between armies, but between whole populations—men, women and children. Every unit of power, no matter how small, must be enlisted in the total effort of one whole nation fighting another whole nation. The military authority of either side which failed to utilise the "man power" of the merest child who could turn a handle, would be criminally negligent. Hence the military impossibility of Conquest of Guernica.

the smallest regard for what is still known as "the civil population." In the strict military sense there will be no civil population.

Thus the War to end war has indeed ended war in the old sense and given place to the war of pure massacre. What was the war in Manchuria? What was the war in Abyssinia? What is the war in Spain? Massacre is the inevitable form which war, pressed to its last extremity, beyond the limit where human conscience is effective, must take. It is the form which Mr. Baldwin has already told us the next war will take.



MAIN STREET OF GUERNICA After the Air Raid

Reproduced by courtesy of " Daily Express

The question which ultimately confronts every human being in Europe is: who is willing to carry on war according to the terms of its latest necessity? Who is willing so to prostitute the rules of ancient chivalry that he will make the women and children of the enemy a considered part of his military objective? In the seige of Bilbao, the considered military opinion of the insurgent army appears to have been: women and children of Durango and Guernica first. If this policy of terrorism can be shown to succeed in Abyssinia and Spain. where is the decree in the modern "civilized" world which can prevent the adoption of such a policy if the Great Powers go to war?

"Adequate Air Raid Precautions!" Surely the very words die on the lips of those who so busily preparing, in what material respect have the effrontery to use them. As lief seek safety in earthquake, security in Sodom and sity of those in Spain who ordered the Guernica Gomorrah, and dry land in the Flood, as "ade-

response of half-witted fear. Truly we must. We must have the courage of our manhood and our womanhood, and tell our temporising, sop-serving Government to make bonfires of their three-and-sixpenny gas masks, since we are neither fools, cravens, nor licensed criminals, but men and women who would ten asking Local Authorities to set up would. if thousand times rather die than be guilty of repeating on any part of the map of Europe the organization for the establishment of what should be

What Should be the Attitude of Pacifists to

O many people have written to me about the attitude which pacifists ought to take up toward the Government's Air Raid Precautions, that I feel it might be well if some of us ventilated our views on the question in Peace News. What chiefly inspires these inquiries, I find, is the fear that the measures which the Government is asking Local Authorities to take will have an enormous effect upon the public mind, and may even sway it from a peace to a war tendency If that fear is justified, then it becomes the duty of every pacifist and every P.P.U. group, to take steps to expose the dangers of compliance with the Government's requests. After a careful study of the whole matter I have come to the conclusion that such compliance will strengthen the tendency to war, for which reason I think it should be refused. Below 1 give a few reasons for my conclusion, and submit them for the consideration of P.P.U. groups. First of all, however, I should like to say that in dealing with this problem we ought to show our sympathy with those responsible for the conduct of local affairs who are placed in a very difficult situation by the Government's proposals. Many local Councillors, for instance, find themselves caught in a cleft stick, torn by two conflicting loyalties: their duty to protect the public, whose servants they are, and their duty to serve the cause of peace. I can only hope that the considerations given below, may help many of them to come to a right conclusion on a matter of extreme urgency and importance.

WAR PREPARATION

(1) The first point I want to make is that if Local Authorities comply with all the Government's requests in regard to Air Raid Procautions, the organization of the country for war will assume such proportions as to cause the Government to feel that, in case of war, they would be able to pull the public behind them.

Now that, in my opinion, is a very dangerous situation. In view of the nature of modern warfare, of its appallingly destructive power. and the danger there is of a Government that is sensitive and responsive to the vested in terests, being driven by these interests, in fear of the collapse of profits and indeed of the entire economic system, to prolong and intensify the armaments race, and thus to increase the probability of war, the maximum of restraint ought to be placed upon it. The cooperation of Local Authorities in carrying out the Government's Air Raid Precautions would, I am convinced, greatly lessen that restraint. and thus make it all the easier for the Government to declare war should a critical situation I that of f arise. I believe the Government is very disturbed by the great and growing strength of pacifist feeling in this country. Thus, were time remo "Oh! but we must do something," is the they able to organize the country as they ap pear to desire, with the aid of Local Authorities, the British public would forfeit one of their most powerful preventives of war.

INCIPIENT FASCISM

(2) My second point, equally important, is that the machinery which the Government is war occurred, serve excellently as a skeleton would be tantamount to a Fascist State.

Let us

May 8, 19

liberties p Indeed the erty of ha away on war, and, during rec that an a fascist reg the end, i fore subm of that p Governme

The tr public ag menacing. the localit the role Whole sys Into a hie control. v grow like **Structions** into the Inside thre Dictators tary Auth

(3) My above, is weak tha Governme Its propos the weake known fa Governme inadequat cordingly Peace wor lets on th with the f tists who Which are

THE AL'

(4) Cor sideration conclusion largely as race and Governme to ask hir insure the situations help to fo Governme which wo ancy of ducing a communit constructi some of t tween the can have :

PREVEN

ie about ought to

nt's Air be well

the ques-

inspires

that the

asking

an enor-

ind may

endency.

mes the

l. group,

of com-

s. After

I have

AIR RAID "PRECAUTIONS"

by Wilfred Wellock

Let us bear in mind the way in which our liberties passed from us during the last war. Indeed that war destroyed the democratic liberty of half Europe. Democracy would pass away on the day of the outbreak of another war, and, after what has happened in Europe during recent years, it is reasonable to assume that an attempt would be made to set up a fascist regime in every democratic country at the end, if not during, another war. I therefore submit that we should assist the fulfilment of that purpose were we to conform to the Government's Air Raid Precautions proposals.

The training of Wardens to protect the Public against air raids does not sound very menacing, but Chief Wardens sent down to the localities in time of war, would quickly fill the role of local Dictators. Very soon the whole system of Wardens would be converted Into a hierarchy of officials under War Office control, whose power and authority would grow like a winter sea. All Government instructions to the localities would tend to flow Into the hands of the Chief Wardens, who, Inside three months would be veritable District Dictators under the sole control of the Military Authorities.

FARCICALLY INADEQUATE

(3) My third point, closely related to the above, is that the case for the Precautions is so weak that one is driven to ask whether the Government has any ulterior motive behind Its proposals. The more that case is examined the weaker it is found to be. In view of the known facts concerning modern warfare, the Government's proposals are almost farcically Inadequate, and yet enormously expensive. Accordingly I would advise all Councillors and peace workers to study the Government's booklets on the question, and in connection therewith the findings of, say, the Cambridge Scienusts who have gone into the whole matter, which are available in book form.

THE ALTERNATIVE: DEMAND A BRITISH PEACE POLICY

(4) Conclusion. From the foregoing considerations I draw the following important conclusion. So serious is the threat of war, largely as the result of the present armaments race and the foreign policy of the National Government, that it is the duty of every citizen to ask himself by which course he is likely to insure the maximum protection to the public: that of facilitating the development of war situations by adopting measures which would ancy of war, and of concentrating on pro- Democracy. ducing a strong anti-war mind throughout the

A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

DEMOCRACYAND THE DEMOCRAT

bombing planes of the Spanish insurgents is the latest shock to our complacency. If this is done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? This is, so to speak, a sample of modern warfare for general inspection. Not the real thing, even yet, for poison gas is still held in abeyance, or in reserve, because this is civil war, not international. The smart young German airmen, like so many salesmen of highpowered motor-cars, who machine-gunned the peaceful population back into their dug-outs after they had blown them out of them, and then set fire to the lot, were merely giving themselves and us an idea of "what she would do." If only they could "let her full out". . . On a really good road—the road of international war!

There is this element in such an achievement. let us make no mistake about it,—the pride of the modern airman in his own ruthless efficiency. He sits remote and apart. What are human beings to him? Objectives to be obliterated. What it all means, he has no idea. Neither have the authorities who send him. Long since, men have given up asking what it means. The Machine swoops them along, the doped slaves of Destruction. And hundreds of thousands of charming young Englishmen are being prepared to plunge into the same bright-eyed insanity, their fingers positively itching to let fall their load of bombs on a real city of real people and clean it up in the same workmanlike fashion.

Then, of course, it will be Defence of Democracy. Only it will be precisely the same thing. And when the Russian airmen do it, it will be Defence of Communism. Only it will be precisely the same thing. What is really happening is that as the machinery of human devastation becomes daily more precise and scientific, the justification for mutual extermination becomes more precise and scientific too. I open at random a book which has reached me this morning: "Soviet Democracy" by Mr. Pat Sloan: preface by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who says: "Every worker in our country ought to read this book and ask himself whether this new civilization is what he wants, or the old society in which he lives.' Thus Sir Charles; and thus Mr. Sloan: - "Democracy, contrary to many illusory views, does not mean freedom of every kind. It means the rule of the people, and this means the suppression of the enemies of the people."

It is in the atmosphere today: this doctrine help to foster a war mentality and at the same of ruthlessness. It is a diabolical doctrine, time remove a measure of restraint from the whether it calls itself Communism, or Fascism. Government, or that of resisting all action Herr Hitler could plead, quite truly, that he of God. Now the Machine, with God ir it which would condone or increase the expect- was simply obedient to Mr. Sloan's idea of

But Democracy is something utterly difcommunity, and a widespread demand for a ferent from this. It is the declaration that revolutionary step forward toward the Kingconstructive peace policy in order to remove in a human society every individual is valid dom of God. Democracy lives because it is ome of the grosser injustices which exist be- as an individual. That does not mean the a Christian thing, which the Church foug't tween the nations. On that issue no pacifist absence of restraints, but the voluntary action and nail; Democracy can continue to live keleton have any doubt. Surely the pacifist slogan ceptance by the individual of those restraints only by becoming a far more Christian thing. what bould be: with war, as with all other disease, which he recognizes to be necessary to his free- Will the Church fight that also, tooth and nail? PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE. dom. Democracy is the rule of all by all; and If it does, it will destroy itself.

THE sinister news of the destruction of it is of its very essence that reluctant minori-Guernica and its inhabitants by the German | ties should not be suppressed, but merely restrained. The nearer Democracy comes to complete realization the less will even restraint be necessary. The reluctant minority will restrain itself.

> That is what is called "idealism" today. But it is the real meaning of Democracy. It is based, first, on reverence for the individual; and, second, on faith in the individual's capacity to understand that obedience to the will of a society based on reverence for the individual is necessary to his own freedom. But, alas, the moment is come when Democracy, in the illusion that it is defending itself, may consent to modes of warfare which utterly annihilate its own inward principle. The reverence for the individual, without which it cannot live, has to be extirpated from the minds of its defenders. It may be said that this was always so. But, first, the allowance of conflict between soldier and soldier is different in kind from the allowance of the deliberate destruction of an unarmed population of children and women and men; and, second, it is precisely at the moment when Democracy becomes a reality that it is forced to defend itself by deliberate and wholesale barbarity. It can defend itself only by destroying itself. It can defend itself as a body, only by destroying its own spirit; nor will its body escape destruction either.

> There is only one way out. It cannot be an easy way; but thank God it is at least a plain one. It is that the Democrat should be a Democrat indeed. He must assert his reverence for the individual. By asserting his reverence for the individual in others, he reasserts his reverence for the individual in himself. If he connives at this barbarity of mutual extermination, he is consenting to his own degradation; and all to no end. He will not save himself, his family, his nation, or Democracy. He will have lost his soul, for nothing.

> And it is, perhaps, necessary that Democracy should have been brought, thus sharply and suddenly, to the crucial test. It has taken even this country, which started with all the advantages, a terribly long while to get to Democracy. Without the Machine, it would hardly have got there at all. The Machine it was that compelled the ruling class and the Christian Church to admit that a man might benot "is": that is a long way yet—as sacred as a piece of property. If they could have kept man a slave to the Machine, they would have done so and joined in praising God for His goodness. But God was in the Machine, and He compelled them to submit to Democracy—the first approximation in reality to the Kingdom still, threatens Democracy with destruction, unless—unless men, under its compulsion, take another and a bigger and an altogether and

npliance or which Below on, and f P.P.U. d like to ve ought ponsible e placed Governlors, for a cleft

s: their

nts they

of peace.

ns given

me to a

eme ur-

is that he Gov aid Prc. ntry for o cause of war. behind ngerous

modern power, ent that sted inin feat of the d intenncrease of re-The coing out would. estraint. Jovern. ituation | ery disngth of s, were one of

tant, is nent is ould, if

The Pros and Cons of Sponsored Radio

by R. M. HOLBROW | 1 have missed, perhaps readers will

MY suggestion that the P.P.U. should buy "time" on the air has brought me one letter of support and some opposition, for both of which I thank the friends concerned. The chief objection appears to be the fact that such a procedure would "close the BBC to us."

Presumably we now enjoy an "open door." What is this privilege worth? I can recall only one direct mention of the P.P.U. on the wireless. That was by a young Dutchman in "In Town Tonight" a few weeks ago. If there have been other instances, which

Drama Notes

by JOHN ATHEY

MANY members of the Peace Pledge Union are interesting themselves in the Bristol Pax Players, who, in cooperation with the Folk House Amateur Repertory Company, recently presented three one-act plays at the Folk House, College Green, Bristol, on two consecutive nights.

The plays were The Charlady and the Angel, by Horace Shipp, Black 'Ell, by Miles Malleson, and World Without Men, by Philip Johnson. The authors of the first two plays are vicepresident and president, respectively, of the International Pax Players.

These three plays form an excellent programme, in which heavy propaganda is relieved by humour and lighthearted satire.

Last November, the Bristol Pax Players ran three performances of John Van Druten's great pacifist play, Flowers of the Forest, which had a great reception and was fully appreciated by the audience.

This company is doing a very great work in thus presenting two series of propaganda drama in a season and, what is more, making each venture a

SUMMER PERFORMANCES

During the summer months, the Reading Pax Players are performing The Formula, Gas Masque, and Our Hat in various gardens in and about

The Central Group of The International Pax Players presented Dawn, by Samuel Williams, during a meeting arranged by the British Youth Peace Council at Stepney. In spite of the difficulties of a very mixed audience they gave a fine performance.

The use of drama as a means of spreading the propaganda of our movement is growing and, months, many societies are including out-of-doors performances of plays or peace pageants in their programmes.

PACIFISTS MUST KNOW THE GALLOWS is an expression of fear, hatred and despair—
the raw material of war. Every inroad on ordelty abrengthens mass resistance to the mass brutalities which threaten. Pacifists should therefore actively support abolition of the death penalty. Particulars and free literature can be had from The Secretary.
National Constil for the Abolition of the Death Penalty Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 tell me.

How often have Peace Pledge Union speakers been given access to the microphone to preach undiluted pacifism?

The occasions must have been very few. Surely the loss of such a meagre advantage would be more than compensated for by regular weekly broadcasts from a foreign station?

Perhaps it is contended that all mention of our prominent members would barred.

ANECDOTES

Hannen Swaffer, broadcasting anecdotes of famous people he had met, included some stories of Dick Sheppard.

One story got in only after a struggle, Swaffer subsequently related, during which he threatened to withdraw altogether if he did not get his way. If my objectors' contention is correct the BBC would have suppressed all the Dick Sheppard stories, if the movement founded by him had incurred its displeasure.

There would have been no Hannen Swaffer at Broadcasting House, but how this prolific journalist would have 'spread" himself over the suppression, inevitably advertising the P.P.U. though the original stories actually contained no reference to our movement or indeed to pacifism at all!

To take one other example. Could the BBC permanently exclude the name of George Lansbury from its news bulletins? Would it have refrained from inviting him to speak after his recent talk with Hitler? Surely not, whatever the P.P.U. had

I wish opponents of the proposition would be more explicit about these alleged privileges which would be withdrawn if the P.P.U. dared to engage in sponsored radio.

"PACIFIST WAVE-LENGTH"

A suggestion that Radio-Luxembourg should become a centre of courageous peace propaganda is made by the Escher Tageblatt, a labour daily published in the Grand Duchy. This 200 kw. station, one of the most powerful in the world, is urged to establish a "pacifist wave length" for the whole of Europe. Among the programme suggestions are broadcasts by Nobel Prize Winners.

The proposal is interesting but hardly likely to receive support from English pacifists, in view of the refusal of Radio-Luxembourg to conform to the International Broadcasting Union's agreements. We want freedom on the air but not piracy.

can be done much better in

company with others in our locality.

That is why groups of the Peace

Pledge Union are being formed in

every town in the country. The objects

of such groups may be stated as

1. To enable members to get to

2. To enable members to educate

proaches to pacifism. Between us we procedure will be given.

themselves in all aspects of and ap-

Hints for-

follows:-

know each other.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Tragedy of *Ireland*

THE IRISH REPUBLIC. Dorothy Macardle. Victor Gollanez. 25s.

Reviewed by

Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier

HAVE long maintained that pacifists do well to study contemporary literature, in regard to the application of force through society, so that they may be able the better to realize the difficulties which those in power have to encounter, and that conflicts of the mind between various sections of the population may be adjusted in a spirit of harmony.

This book, though expensive, may be procured at most libraries and should not be missed, particularly by hundred percent pacifists.

The example of that great pacifist, Sheehy-Skeffington, who was murdered by a British officer during the Easter Rebellion in Dublin (he was arrested while carrying out acts of



Mr De Valera

mercy among combatants of both sides) should be a reminder to all pacifists that they cannot have their pacifism on their own terms, and must be prepared to put up with hardships, even unto death, in order that they may sustain their cause.

Another interesting sidelight on pacifism during the "Terror" is found in these pages. The Dublin Metropolitan Police were unarmed throughout the whole Rebellion, and were comparatively speaking immune from harm. On the other hand, the R.I.C., although paralyzed and in a hopeless position, owing to the guerilla action of their own countrymen against them, were armed.

They appealed to Caesar to become unarmed like their brothers in Dublin City, in order to become safe! Caesar was not having any, so the R.I.C. began to resign en bloc, their places

3. For members to cooperate in

4. For the group to act as part of a

nation-wide organization, by co-

operating with neighbouring groups

and in any P.P.U. schemes throughout

Next week suggestions for group

active work for pacifism. This means

propaganda work and also putting

problems for ourselves.

our ideas into practice.

the country.

GROUP ACTIVITY

WHATEVER we can do alone have got to thrash out the various

being taken by hired mercenaries from

Another important factor is brought out in connexion with the discussions between the English and Irish delegates prior to the Treaty being signed. The Irish representatives were not trained diplomats, and were by nature and upbringing, frank, sincere, and open in their utterances across the conference table. But the English representatives were steeped in the old diplomacy, and disbelieved sincerity!

The book teems with lessons on how to avoid conflict, and shows up the utter futility of strife, and that whatever a country sets out to attain by warfare, it rarely achieves.

On the other hand, the chief lesson for the world which comes out of the Treaty Conference, which has not ended as was desired in peace, is that the kind of tactics which Mr. Lloyd George employed, are no longer desirable, if conflict is to be ended by any international conference of the future.

Mr. Lloyd George used the threat of war to obtain peace and, instead, although he succeeded in his own aims, he made war inevitable. War, be it said, which is being carried on in a different form in subterranean channels even now sixteen years after.

HOPE FOR THE **FUTURE**

WHAT IS AHEAD OF US? A Symposium. Allen & Unwin. 5s.

This little book is not only very convincing, but also very readable, being written in a style which will neither infuriate the purist nor mystify the layman. This no doubt is why, after reading the book, one is left with a vague feeling of relief, a feeling that with such people in it as the contributors the world cannot be in such a desperate state after all.

Unfortunately, however, a little reflection will convince the reader that it is, and that it is possible for the theories of the Fabian Society to exist side by side with those of, say, Herr Hitler apparently without influencing those of the latter very much.

From the pacifist point of view, the book is frankly disappointing.

The ultimate use of armed force, either by nations or such organizations as the League, still seems to be considered inevitable, and one looks in vain for any mention of non-violence as a definite creed. Mr. Blackett makes a passing reference to pacifism, and that is all.

The last lecture is perhaps the best, and the light which Mr. Hogben hrows on the popula shows it to be far less simple than the newspapers and their contributors seem to think.

J.K.M.C.

Please Order Your PEACE NEWS EARLY

A rep Bentle tics" April SHOU you th

summing

outlook.

ness conf that gets Also, "hear, h must giv tally our and cons company ing, of c

me that poraries fervour a have fo Party a this gene pacifism should h of streng It is ri with the

It is a

is not method defendin Soci a wor step i it is more

There which r critical s be room perfect s probably concepti should b this char You a

we say-found th fast are that I si all my should d I shall r

Now foreign

Do re

W GUN

F defe cost i £100,000 Sir Jo wages (mented

the fifty which i full an £100,000 half wa this cou April 2

April 17.

ries from

s brought scussions ish deleg signed. vere not by nature ere, and ross the English a the old

incerity!
s on how
up the
at whatttain by

ne chief
h comes
ference,
was dehe kind
Lloyd
longer
to be
nal con-

e threat instead, nis own e. War, rried on erranean rs after.

rhe

JS? A vin. 5s.

e, being neither tify the y, after with a ng that ne conin such

a little der that for the to exist y, Herr uencing

ew, the

armed r such ie, still inevitain for nce as lackett ice to

Hogben uestion an the ibutors

K.M.C.

ır

A reply to an article by Russell Bentley on "Pacifism and Politics" in PEACE NEWS for

SHOULD like to start by assuring you that I heartily agree with your summing-up of the pacifist political outlook, and with real feminine weakness confess that, even now, the candidate with the "nicest face" is the one that gets my vote!

Also, I would add a very heartfelt "hear, hear" when you say that we must give our members, and incidentally ourselves, a "political education and consciousness." But here we part company, and (metaphorically speaking, of course) come to blows.

INDIVIDUALISM

It is a matter of profound regret to me that so many of my contemporaries embrace politics with all the fervour and zeal which would formerly have found an outlet in religion. "Party allegiances" are the curse of this generation and, rather than chide pacifism for being individualistic, I should hail its individualism as a sign of strength.

It is right for all of us to be inflamed with the cause of justice and peace; it is **not** right to seize upon any one method of procuring it, and valiantly defending it to the last ditch.

Socialism may be (I think it is) a workable theory and the next step in European civilization, but it is not a perfect system any more than is the present one.

There are many practical difficulties which must be faced in a calmly critical spirit, and there will certainly be room for abuses even in the most perfect socialist state. Further, it will probably in its turn give way to a new conception of what the social order should be. For nothing is permanent in this changing world.

You and I both equally desire—shall we say—health, but because I have found that two prunes before breakfast are a good thing, it does not mean that I should demand and insist that all my fellow-seekers after health should do precisely the same. If I do, I shall rightly be regarded as a crank.

FOREIGN POLICY

Now Mr. Bentley's prune is the foreign policy of the I.L.P. Frankly,

Do YOU KNOW

Which We Need Most— GUNS OR BUTTER?

F defence still cost this year what it cost in 1931, there would be an extra £100,000,000 available for social ser-

Sir John Orr has calculated that if wages or social services were augmented by about £200,000,000 a year, the fifty percent of our population which is underfed could be given a full and sufficient diet. Another £100,000,000, therefore, would go half way to abolishing hunger from this country altogether.—Daily Herald, April 27

Nonsense, Mr. Bentley!

It is seems to me that the left-wing particle by Russell parties are just as militaristic as the

Forum For Youth

causes for which they would fight.

It does not require a very large bump of prophecy to forecast that the battle-cry of the next world war will be "Down with fascist-aggression. Rally to the defence of democracy!" and I do not think that the reds (or even the pinks) will be neutral in that great struggle.

right, the only difference being the

In my view, it is impossible for any intelligent man or woman to support whole-heartedly any political party. Every issue that arises should be carefully considered against a background of immediate facts and tendencies, and then related to our central aim—the creation of a peaceable society.

EDUCATION

What we need desperately is **education**—education in history, economics, psychology and social science. Our pleasant group discussions are inadequate for the purpose.

We should seize also upon every chance of studying anti-pacifist literature, and hearing anti-pacifist views—not for the sake of converting others, but for the good of our own souls. We shall then at least be spared from complete ignorance and prejudice.

The "whole duty" of the pacifist is to listen to every point of view, and then (to borrow words of Toc H) we are called

"to find our own convictions, to influence the formation of public opinion, and thus to replace social and racial antagonisms by intelligent understanding."

B. Curtayne

Films

NAVY FOLLOWS ARMY'S LEAD

THE British Navy, following closely on the Army's production of O.H.M.S. and in its determination to propagate its interests, has cooperated in producing a film entitled Our Fighting Navy.

The film has been produced by arrangement with the Navy League. Its story is of a British cruiser in action and British subjects being pro-

When making representations concerning militarism in films, it is a good plan to discover if there is a local Cinematograph Distributors' Association anywhere near, or whether one covers your area.

It may be more effective than protesting either to actual cinema managers or to the big firms.

tected by British Naval officers during a revolution in an unspecified republic.

There is the inevitable love interest between the captain and the Consul's daughter, presumably to show how human Naval officers are.

The main object is to glorify the work of the sailor and at the same time to coat the pill by wrapping an adventure story round it.

GREAT FUN—THIS STREET-SELLING!

By F. C. GODFREY



While it is unnecessary to have a stall in order to sell PEACE NEWS in the street, this was the method adopted recently by the Heaton Moor (Lancashire) group of the Peace Pledge Union.

THIS article has been written with the object of trying to persuade those who have not yet taken up street-selling of PEACE NEWS to try it. I believe such selling has great propaganda value, and it isn't at all dull as the following stories go to show.

One Sunday morning, while I was selling, a man came up to me. His manner was blustering. "Everyone d—— well wants peace" he blurted out, and then followed with the usual arguments about if other countries did or didn't do this, that or the other, we had to take measures. . .

His argument was punctuated throughout with the use of expletives. One would expect him to be easy prey for the pacifist, and he was.

I answered his queries quietly, and I hope politely, and began to make headway—too much, I'm afraid, because just then along came a tram, and suddenly remembering he was going somewhere, he hastily boarded

Introducing the-

United Christian Peace Movement

A SMALL group of clergy of different churches who believed that the Christian Church as such should be in the van in education and action for peace was responsible for the formation of the Australian United Christian Peace Movement, which aims to secure:—

1. For clergy: Study and discussion, material for preaching and teaching, leadership in and out of church.

2. For congregations: Information, stirring of conscience, mobilizing, and leading into action.

3. For church societies: Greater prominence of relevant questions in programmes and syllabuses.

4. For "Christians" generally: A sense of urgency and a rallying point for action.

The first big move was a peace week (which concluded on Sunday) in which the cooperation of all churches was sought.

The secretary of the movement is the Rev. W. G. Coughlan, of Kingsford, New South Wales, Australia.

it without so much as a "Good-morning."

Some adults cast but fleeting glances at our placards, but you can always reckon on the utmost curiosity from little children who stand and endeavour to take it all in—almost in fact to "eat" one's poster.

It's good to let it sink into the child mind though, and I have been gladdened many times to hear one little boy or girl call out PEACE NEWS in answer to an inquiring playmate as they run past. The kiddies know we're on the "King's highway."

I was standing outside a meeting of a certain society. One man came out and said to me "What's all this about?" I explained at some length. He considered some while and then turning away remarked "Umph. Twopence—too dear."

Assistance is always welcome on such a job. Some of my colleagues recently remarked, "We saw you Saturday selling PEACE NEWS as we passed."

"Where were you then?" I asked.
"We were in a tram," came the reply,
"but we did admire you." That was
a test for a pacifist—there was a tendency to burst. One wants help, not
admiration.

On Friday nights, a man and his wife come past my "station" pulling a street organ. Perhaps they base

Do YOU Sell in the Streets?

SINCE we published, on March 20, a list of places where there are open-air sellers of PEACE NEWS, we have received notice of the following:—

BRADFORD DORKING HEATON PARK, Manchester OSWESTRY PALMERS GREEN SKIPSEA and district WEST WALTHAMSTOW making a total of 25.

Write and tell us where your pitch is.

their appeal to the public on the man's war service and consequent disability. If they do, it's funny because as he comes past he calls out to me "Why don't you join the Army?"

Then of course there's a touch of humour in all of it. Some people grin, some almost sneer. Quite a lot give one a pitying look as though to say "Poor fool." As they pass, I smile to myself and wonder—not unkindly I hope—who is the bigger fool.

What War Means

DEST anyone should doubt the power of the chemist in war, it should be remembered that Haber, a German chemist, prolonged the World War, and indirectly caused the loss of countless lives, by the discovery of the method of manufacturing ammonia, an essential ingredient for explosives, from the nitrogen in the air.—John Hockin

"Dear Sir....

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses. though not necessarily for publication.

SHOULD WE PAY INCOME TAX?

HAVE seen no satisfactory solution of the important problem of income tax in PEACE NEWS and have not heard of more than one case of refusal to pay, although this seems to be the logical and necessary course of

Refusal to cooperate with the war machine does not seem to commend itself to pacifists save in rare instances, chiefly because it would entail renunciation of the amenities of civilization. There can be no adequate limitation of the principle of non-cooperation implicit in the refusal to pay income tax.

In the last analysis it would mean unemployment, social obloquy, starvation, isolation from the activities of a state which lives by war and of a society which at bottom believes in vio-

The solutions offered in PEACE NEWS-that we should render the money unto Caesar together with a letter of protest or that we should pay income tax in part only-are obviously inadequate. We should concede the substance in order to retain the shadow.

Various questions arise in this connection: Ought we to cooperate in any way with the war machine? Ought we to have shares in motor engineering firms which devote part of their energies to armaments? Ought we, if we belong to the key industries, to go on producing, as many pacifists did in the Great War, and thus indirectly support war?

The argument of those who answer in the affirmative is a moral argument. They say that they are not responsible for other people's wickedness.

To produce for war does not seem to matter so long as the pacifist refuses to participate in actual fighting. Now I challenge this view—if all men refused to fight war would indeed

But pacifists are in a minority and must have a technique of leadership if they are to assert an influence which must be out of all proportion to their numbers. This technique is that of suffering and death.

The views of your readers would help me a great deal.

REG. MOSS.

17 Orchard Street,

Tamworth, Staffs.

We know of at least three cases of refusal to pay, but in all of them (other than that reported in PEACE NEWS for April 10) the resisters have not been sent to prison but the money has been obtained by distraining on their goods.-En.

DAWLISH or NEWQUAY South Devon & N. Cornish Coast

Comfortable Guest Houses, beautifully situated in extensive grounds. Bathing, excursions, &c. Highly recommended. Very moderate inclusive terms. New illustrated brochure No 37 free from:

Dougla: R. Bishop

Seanide and Country Guest Houses Ltd. Fairfield, Dawlish S. Devon. (Tel. 151)

Political Pacifism

NON-COOPERATION

WHAT connection is there between Akhnaton and the present-day political pacifist?

The political pacifist is one who regards the sole ultimate cause of modern wars as being the private ownership of the sources of the needs of the community.

Such a pacifist sees the cleavages in humanity as not between nation and nation, but as artificial, between owners and non-owners of every nation.

sources of the needs of the world Surely, far from being are communally owned can war and poverty be abolished.

Many who share this view thus far are not pacifists, the pacifist going farther. He sees that the owners are in command of all the resources for imposing their will by violence, and that therefore recourse to violence can only prolong the present iniquitous form of social organization.

Since international wars are only the expression of a clash of interests between different sections of owners, he refuses to participate at their bidding. As to war against the owners, he considers that the dice is so loaded against the non-owner, that he can only be crushed as a result of violence.

Therefore the only effective weapon the non-owners possess, is their refusal to cooperate with the owners.

Hence the policy of the political pacifist is enlightenment of the majority as to the nature of the present social system, until that majority is ready, by non-violent non-cooperation, to dispossess the owners (with or without compensation), and set up the new form of social organization which will ensure peace and abundance for all.

CAECILIA E. M. PUGH.

11 Cambourne Avenue, Whitchurch, Cardiff.

TRUE PATRIOTS

I suppose all pacifists, like the writer in PEACE NEWS of April 24 have been accused of not being patriotic. There are many effective replies. Mine is usually to quote A. S. Neill who wrote "If we were all true patriots there would be no

Our first concern, I submit, is to persuade men to seek that which is right.

The causes of war are mainly economic. Changes in the economic sys tem should ultimately come through Parliament. It seems therefore that our further aim should be the formation of a political pacifist party.

OLIVER C. WARD

71 Grange Road,

South Norwood, S.E.25.

The War Resisters' International has a nev affiliate in Norway under the leadership of Olaf Kullman.

PACIFIST DICTATOR

READ with interest in PEACE NEWS, April 24, "D.B.'s" account of Akhnaton's pacifism and the way he put it into practice. The conclusion I draw from the account, however, confirms my faith in those who seek to promote pacifism through the political channel.

"With a stroke of the pen" is to me the key to the reason why Akhnaton's pacifist reign was short-lived. That implies an autocratic action for which, as events proved, he had He believes that only when all not the sanction of his people. "practical pacifism," this was dictatorship paci-

> The policy of a pacifist government would become practical, not by a stroke of the pen, but by the will of the people who elect it: people who understand and believe in that policy thereby giving their representatives a mandate to use it.

A. UNDERHILL

9 Stoney Road, Coventry.

'Well Done, Coventry!'

I should think that the Coventry branch of the Christian Pacifist Party must be congratulating itself on the reception of its proposed amendment to resolution 4 at the Manchester Convention. To receive the support of nearly half of an assembly representative of many bodies not purely pacifist to the discussion of a proposal which the chairman had already suggested was not in the true intention of the meeting is to demonstrate clearly that the issue is a live one and demands consideration.

The formation of a "Peace Party" would harness for politics and for peace the energies of some politically keen workers at present excluded from the parties on the peace and war

Such a party (and this, I think, is very important) would be able to work out a true pacifist policy, unhampered by previous commitments, and when the time came for any of the older parties to adopt pacifism it would adopt an already well worked-out policy instead of a possibly hastily compiled instrument for vote-catching.

The creation of a Peace Party could not possibly be all our work but we must not reject any just method of working for our aim.

So, well done, Coventry!

L. M. DAVIDSON

103 Clarksfield Road,

Oldham, Lancashire.

Note.—As this correspondent indicates, it was not the Coventry amendment that was narrowly defeated but 'the previous question" that was carried by a small majority, so that the amendment was not properly discussed

CHANCE FOR THE **CHURCH**

MOULD you be good enough to grant us space in which to urge the fullest support of the Churches and Church people generally in this year's National Peace Congress which is to be held in London from May 28



Bishop of Birmingham

casion there is to be a special churches' commission meeting simultaneously with other commissions May 29. Any Church

On this oc-

or Church organization is entitled to appoint delegates, and we strongly urge

those that are at all accessible to London to do so.

Full particulars together with application forms for delegates can be obtained from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London. S.W.1.

> E. W. BIRMINGHAM. C. S. BRISTOL, HENRY CHELMSFORD, GEORGE CICESTER, H. R. L. SHEPPARD.

Other People's Points of View

I was profoundly disturbed to hear so many people who spoke at the Manchester Convention who appear to assume that all those who are not absolute pacifists are mentally de-

One speaker refused to encourage or cooperate with anyone who could not go all the way with him. Another speaker set up a hypothetical international police force and then proceeded to demolish it with great efficiency. But that international police force which she so effectively dealt with would never have been proposed by anyone who had thought about the matter for five minutes.

The New Commonwealth Society. for instance, has a very sound scheme drawn up by air experts from various countries which is extremely well worked out in detail, as is also their scheme for an equity tribunal from which the P.P.U. might learn much.

I consider that it is the pacifist's duty to study and appreciate the arguments of those whose opinions differ from his

For example, to know more of military strategy than the average militarist gives a marvellous advantage in argu-

MARGARET O'BRIEN.

21a Fulwood Park,

Liverpool, 17.

BOTH my Baker questio or coll circum: I am

May 8.

quite g article (sought t almost speakers Russia policy? Mr. 1 thinkabl of her c years, c

That co fied, but my case I a sump dictat upon will But i some survi disco in pr

ing that convert agree w miracles pacifist is a ma pacifists. that a p Britain, all othe it happe

Mr. P

RESIST Mr. my artic I have I resistanc fested b measure might a classless

Mr the classe I full have dange to ac the e my p Perha

try to way: In the fists can ticipating action th that ma ice ai and par public c

Also (and ecor terests c

TWO THE

"TH

THE

ough to

to urge

hurches

in this

s which

May 28

this oc-

there is

special

es' com-

meet-

multan-

y with

com-

Church

rch or-

tion is

led to

t dele-

and we

y urge

essible

1 appli-

be ob-

Peace

ondon.

FORD,

ints

at the

appear

are not

ly de-

:ourage

) could

Inother

inter-

n pro-

1 police

/ dealt

oposed

out the

society.

scheme

various

o their

1 from

paci-

appre-

m his

of mili-

ilitarist

argu-

RIEN.

those

uch.

great

AM,

ER.

on 15

WILFRED WELLOCK

replies to his critics

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

Baker on my British articlequestion the possibilities of mass or collective peace action in the circumstances of today.

I am afraid Mr. Perno has not quite grasped the purpose of my article on Russia. In that article I sought to answer a question that is almost invariably put to pacifist speakers: What would happen to Russia were she to adopt a pacifist policy?

Mr. Perno replies that it is unthinkable that Soviet Russia, in view of her conduct during the last twenty years, could adopt a pacifist policy. That contention may be fully justified, but it does not in the least alter

I agree wholly with his assumption that revolution and dictatorship involve entrance upon an era of violence which will not easily be terminated. But it will have to be terminated some time if civilization is to survive, and it is for pacifists to discover how. My aim was to show that pacifism could work in present-day Russia.

Mr. Perno is no doubt right in saying that a miracle will be needed to convert Russia to pacifism, but I disagree with him when he says that miracles do not happen. Whether a Pacifist miracle will happen in Russia is a matter which rests with Russian pacifists. I hope it will. I also hope that a pacifist miracle will happen in Britain, and that Mr. Perno, I, and all other pacifists are trying to make

RESISTANCE FROM THE RIGHT

Mr. Baker wonders whether, in my article "What, then, shall we do?" have paid sufficient attention to the resistance that is likely to be manifested by the privileged classes to the measures which a Left Government might adopt in order to establish a classless State.

Mr. Baker's fears regarding the action of the privileged classes in the situation he names, I fully share. What is more, I have not underestimated the danger. Indeed I have sought to acquire a realistic picture of the entire situation and to adapt my pacifist policy to it.

Perhaps it will help Mr. Baker if I is fism more enemies than friends. try to explain my position in this

In the first place, I hold that pacifists cannot escape the duty of participating in political or collective action these days, however distasteful that may be. The issues of war and peace are determined by parliaments. and parliaments are determined by public opinion.

Also our entire financial, industrial, and economic system which, in the interests of a small minority organizes

TWO POWERFUL BOOKLETS recommended by the P.P.U.

THE SUPPRESSED SPEECH"

"THE TATTOO EXPOSED" Post free 11d. each; 9d. a dozen is Riley. 13 Beech Ave., Horsforth, nr. Leads

ROTH my critics—Mr. Perno on | and exploits the lives of millions of my Russian article and Mr. citizens, is an instrument of social warfare and a subject for parliamentary control.

A SOUND PEACE POLICY

Facing the danger which Mr. Baker points out, I claim that democracy can be saved and peace with social justice secured, providing we are able to convince a reasonable number of the middle and well-to-do classes that in their own as well as the national interest, they ought to support what I venture to call a sound peace policy, that is, a policy which involves farreaching adjustments in the distribution of the nation's wealth.

Should we fail in that task, it is quite likely that the privileged classes, refusing to give up the practice of social exploitation, may seek to carry through a military coup with the object of setting up a fascist State. But, as I pointed out in my article, that will not be the end of the story.

Freedom is an essential condition of individual well-being and of social progress, and the denial of freedom repercussions.

I believe the P.P.U. has an urgent duty in enlightening the British public on these and allied dangers, especially as the threat of war is coming more and more from the development of the social struggle or the class war.

I do not think that task is beyond our powers. It depends chiefly upon whether we have the courage to face the facts, and to espouse the policy for which the facts call.

I personally am constrained to act in that faith, and if we fail, as Mr. Baker thinks we may and I cannot deny, I shall still believe that nothing else I might have done could have carried us farther toward the goal we all desire to reach.

Where Will You be on May 12?

From a Correspondent

MANY pacifists, though eager to combat the nationalistic fervour that will accompany the coronation, may yet feel that at so abnormal a time active propaganda will tend to be ineffective and to secure for paci-

The coronation will arouse feelings very similar in many ways to those that would occur at the outbreak of a war. It is suggested that pacifists could not make better use of the occasion than by subjecting themserves and their neighbours to a careful and scientific scrutiny.

There is already a well organized movement in existence, known as "Mass Observation" (of 6 Grotes Buildings, Blackheath, London, S.E.3), whose object is to study crowd behaviour at normal and abnormal times. Reports are collected from a large number of private, voluntary observers, and the results will be collated and published in book form.

at the coronation, and in a leaflet the daylight of science."

India

ECONOMIC CAUSE OF FRONTIER WAR

Congress Case Against Constitution

THE use of the traditional policy of repression and military force in Waziristan has impelled the National Peace Council to send a letter to the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary for India, drawing attention to a proposal made last year by a conference of representatives of peace organizations which discussed the Frontier

"We were and are convinced," the letter states, "that whatever may be the occasion for disturbance, the real causes lie deeper in the severity of the economic struggle in these tribal territories."

Light upon the Congress Party's attitude to the new Constitution in India itself is thrown by C. F. Andrews in the current issue of Reconciliation, of which the following is a summary:-

1. The autonomy which has been given with one hand has been taken is bound to be followed by frightful away by the other owing to the arbitrary powers of the Governor which would undermine the full responsibility of the Chief Minister.

> 2. Although the provincial side of the new Constitution is a great advance on the old, there is hardly anything to be said in favour of the new Centre Nationally-minded Indians of every school of thought and religion have condemned the Federal Assembly and the Federal Council of State as reactionary bodies. Some members of the Federal Assembly are to be appointed by indirect election, while others will be nominees of the

3. Vested interests are so strongly entrenched among those indirectly elected to represent British India that liberal measures will be in continual assembles on Monday, May 24. danger of defeat.

4. The reactionary Centre, however, is entrusted with only twenty percent of the national expenditure, and even this is subject to the Viceroy's veto.

Other criticisms made by Mr. Andrews included: -

- (a) No control of foreign affairs, defence, and ecclesiastical affairs by Indian Ministers;
- Civil Service;
- (c) Scarcely any effective powers of revision.

Despite statements from both sides, which have resulted in a narrowing of the differences between them, no settlement is yet in sight. It is, however, being suggested that a way out lies in friendly conversations between Congress and the Governors.

issued recently reference is made to the "need to know more about how people behave in crowds and masses.

"Many of us remember the last war and how mass excitement deluded us then. . . blind passions may turn. or be turned, into wrong and harmful directions. The best way to guard This body is making a special effort against them is to bring them into It is understood that there will be no

GOVERNMENT LOSING SUPPORT?

"Murmuring" Against Arms Plan

IN view of the losses sustained by the Government, including one seat and many thousand votes, in the recent by-elections at West Birmingham, Central Wandsworth, and Stalybridge, it is perhaps significant that Mr. Wickham Steed in a speech at West Ham on Monday said that

"rearmament for the sake of rearmament will not command enough public support in the long run to enable the Government to get all the money it wants from the tax-payers without serious murmuring and perhaps active opposition in an industrial as well as in a political form."

Major H. L. Nathan won the Central Wandsworth seat for Labour by 12,406 votes to 11,921. In both the West Birmingham and Stalybridge byelections the Labour candidates reduced the Conservative majorities of the last election by nearly 5,000.

Tories Criticize New **Profits Tax**

The fact that Mr. Chamberlain attended a meeting of the Trade and Industry Committee of the Conservative Party at the House of Commons on Tuesday and dealt with criticisms of his National Defence Contribution plan has given rise to rumours at Westminster that he would give a definite statement on the details of his scheme before the House of Commons rose on Thursday.

Officially, however, he still proposed to issue the text of his scheme in the Finance Bill when the House re-

U.S. Bans Arms to Spain

A Neutrality Bill, the effect of which is to ban any export of arms to Spain, was passed by the United States Congress last week, and signed (b) No popular control of the by President Roosevelt on Saturday.

> A proclamation was also issued by the President enumerating the articles of war which may not be shipped to belligerents, and revealing some extension of an earlier list of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, with special reference to poison gases, propellants, and high explosives.

> The number of jeats held by Labour in the Japanese Parliament was more than doubled as a result of the General Election held on Friday of last week.

> The success of Labour exceeds expectations, although it is still far from being an effective parliamentary force, either in numbers or debating force. change of government.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

1d. per word, minimum 1s. Box number 6d. extra

BIRTH

ON MONDAY, MAY 3, to Mrs. H. A. Southwell, of 10 Palace Road, N.11, a daughter.

APPEAL

YOU MAY HAVE READ in last week's PEACE NEWS about suppression of a Community in Germany. Help is very urgently needed for those 40 refugees who had to leave Germany because of stand for peace. To get permission to land, large sum of money required as guarantee for maintenance until they can support themselves. Refugees will find home at Cotswold Bruderhof, where they can work productively as soon as they arrive and continue work for peace and brotherhood. Gifts in kind or money to Cotswold Bruderhof, Ashton Keynes, Wilts.

DRAMATIC

YE KING'S STONE PRESS, 20a Lower Teddington Road, Kingstonon-Thames. If you are interested in peace read MOLOCH by Winifred Carter, 2s. 6d. (2s. 8d. by post).

"Most affecting. It depicts the agony of war in the home and in the heart of a mother." Daily Sketch.

HEALTH TREATMENT

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON, health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerve and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (near Victoria Station). Victoria 0131. Residential telephone, Weald (Kent) 53.

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c., from guinea to 100 guineas. Battley Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

MEETINGS

"SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM" "LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY" "ACTA NON VERBA"

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Notting Hill Gate.

May 10, Leader: the Rev. Will Hayes. Subject: "God Save the People." All welcome.

LUNCH HOUR ADDRESSES (1.15 p.m.) in

KING'S **weigh hous**e church Thomas St., Oxford St., London, W. l

(a few yards west of Bond St. Tube Station) Chairman: The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon

Friday, May 14 A. G. WALKDEN, M.P., on Industry and World Peace

Friday, May 21

Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., (Secretary, League of Nations Union) on Settle Disputes without War.

POSTERS

PEACE POSTERS for the times. Samples on application to the Secretary, Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.

TO LET

FLAT IN CHELSFIELD, KENT. 15 miles London. Station 10-15 minutes. Electric Service. Three Rooms. Bathroom. Large Garden. 16s. Garage if necessary. Box D.24, c/o PEACE NEWS.

TYPEWRITING

THE SOUTH LONDON TYPE-WRITING BUREAU (Mabel L Eyles), 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.24. Telephone Brixton 2863. Duplicating, typewriting, private shorthand lessons, speed practice, &c. Prices on application.

WANTED

FOUR - ROOMED COTTAGE, with garden, in country; South Midlands; rent about 10s. Box D.23, c/o PEACE NEWS.

WHERE TO STAY

BOURNEMOUTH: AVON ROYAL Hotel, East Cliff. Hot and cold water, bedrooms, central heating. Modern, from three guineas. Write Bertram Hull for brochure. Phone

DERBYSHIRE HILLS.—Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Contral heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Tel.: Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.)

COTSWOLDS. In the "Valley of Peace." Food Reform (vegetarian) Guest House. Old world charm: log fires: house car: 21 guineas (except August). Manager an ex-"C.O." 'Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, near Stroud, Gloucester.

SUNNY SUSSEX. Vacancies for a few guests at Privett Cottage, Cow-beech, near Hailsham. Large garden. whom the absence of buses obliges Delightful country with wild flowers and songbirds. Terms 2 guineas. B. and F. Warner.

(Newsagent's name)

To M.

DIARY OF

- 8 (Sat.) 7.30 p.m. Holy Trinity Church Hall, Granville Road. HORNSEY; public debate on the life provides the only sure foundation for personal liberty and the establishment of peace for the community and the world." For, Rev. Leslie Artingstall; Against, Miss Magda Gellen; F.o.R.
- NOTTINGHAM; John Barclay on "Group Organization"; P.P.U. 8 p.m. Large Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, LONDON, E.C.4; V. K. Krishna Menon on "The constitution and after"; tickets 1s. from India League, 165 Strand, London, W.C.2
- (Wed.) 9 a.m. Meet at Liverpool Street, corner of Old Broad Street; ramble from Chingford to

(Continued from page 2, column 1)

cial busmen in ten counties and may soon be used by tram, trolley-bus, and Underground workers in London, and by miners throughout the country.

Whilst these efforts of the workers to band together to get better conditions represent pacifist action so long as they accept suffering rather than inflict it, much depends upon the iustice of their case and more upon their inner attitude.

RICHARD GREGG'S VIEW

Writing to PEACE NEWS (in connexion with the sit-down strikes in the United States), Richard Gregg

"As a method it is not, however, true non-violence, for it does not aim to persuade the employer by voluntary suffering on the part of the employees, except to the extent that loss of wages in any strike is voluntary non-violent suffering.

'It is shrewd tactics and a small step in the direction of non-violent resistance. To that extent it is good.'

It is worthy of record that members of the travelling public in Kent have been giving a practical example of to walk long distances have, in addition, been contributing to strikers' funds.

PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

Note to Newsagent.—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a

national newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your

wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 59 Waterfall

Road, London, N.11 (Tel: Enterprise 1888).

as from issue dated

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly.

High Beech and Theydon Bois; intending ramblers please write to R. H. Pownall, 84 Albert Road, Dalston, E.8; P.P.U.

motion "that the Christian way of 14 (Fri.) 1.15 p.m. to 2 p.m. Lower Hall, King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street, LON-DON, W.1; A. G. Walkden, M.P., on "Industry and world peace"; King's Weigh House and L.N.U.

(Mon.) 7.30 p.m. Elite Theatre, EVERY MAN AN **ARTIST**

Mr. Eric Gill, the well-known sculptor, addressing the Oxford University Pacifist Association last week, said that the matter of peace depended on the kind of Society which clamoured for it.

Because of the ruling power of the merchant class, he said, there was discontent in the industrial world today. It was impossible to obtain ownership, which he said was necessary to human happiness and dignity, under the present system.

"The artist," he said, "is not a special kind of man. Every man is a special kind of artist. The only culture worth having is the natural and inevitable product of an honourable and natural life."

The Personal Touch

Twenty-five new members were enrolled in the Methodist Peace Fellowship as a result of a successful experiment in propaganda recently carried out by the Cambridge group of the Fellowship.

"A letter was sent to every Methodist in the town," writes a correspondent in this month's issue of Reconciliation describing the effort. "asking them, in a short questionnaire, whether they took the pacifist position. and whether they would like to know more of the M.P.F."

Members of the group interviewed those who were interested.

THEY SELL PEACE

The Wallasey Peace Exhibition will be on view at a peace shop in Cardiff which will be open from May 10 to 16 between the hours of 10 a.m. and

It will be opened by the local group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who will be supported by the P.P.U., M.P.F., and other organizations affipeace council. John's Square.

PEAGE

as a kind of first eace insurance orn son" says eived by the the Emergency irth announcement was enclosed with the cheque.

Published by "Peace News" Ltd., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, (editorial and publishing offices, 59 Waterfall Road, New Southgate, N.11) and printed for them by Baines & Scarsbrook, Ltd. (T.U.), 75 Pairfax Road, London, N.W.6

iated to the Cardiff The shop will be in St. In the centre of the cit
INSURE FOR
"I am sending you \$5
premium on a sort of p
policy for our new be
Youth Department of
Peace Campaign. A b

 M_{Un}^{EM} vantage fellow-n ner can Derbysh

PEACE

No. 48

send in The c June 19 time wil end or I If y

have on

the Pe Street, Accon for 500 some ide gained duced a

The n e held in the ve right; th field nex building the left are to t

> LORI Pacifi:

and J. MII Forum